

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8987

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 LIMA 1761

USIA FOR: ILA

SECSTATE FOR: ARA/LA/EP, FUNSETH

EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A) EP

SUBJ:

HEREWITH POST SUBMITS FOR THE RECORD AN UNOFFICIAL
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF SPEECH GIVEN BY FOREIGN
MINISTER DE LA FLOR AT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
FEBRUARY 18, 1976, DURING DINNER HELD BY FOREIGN
MINISTER IN HONOR OF SECRETARY KISSINGER. THE
TEXT FOLLOWS:

1. MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, MINISTER, AMBASSADORS,
GENTLEMEN:

I BELIEVE IT IS ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT TO POINT
OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VISIT MADE BY THE
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES TO
PERU IN HIS TOUR OF VARIOUS LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.
IN ADDITION, THIS IS A FITTING OCCASION, BECAUSE OF THE
COINCIDENTAL FACT THAT IT TAKES PLACE ON THE YEAR OF THE
BICENTENNIAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

2. THIS BICENTENNIAL LEADS US TO CERTAIN REFLECTIONS.

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ONE OF THEM, AND NOT THE LEAST, RESTS ON THE UNDISPUTABLE

FACT THAT IT CLOSELY RELATES THE EMANCIPATION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STATES TO CERTAIN IDEALS OF LIBERTY WHICH INSPIRED THE INDEPENDENCE OF NORTH AMERICA: THE RADICAL IDEALISM OF SOME OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE UNITED STATES, THEIR PRIMARY CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF THEIR PEOPLE, THE POPULAR CHARACTER OF THE DAWNING NORTH AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, AND THE FAITH IN THE POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILING BASIC PERSONAL INTERESTS WITH THE UNDENIABLE DEMANDS OF THE COMMON WELFARE. THOSE GREAT TRENDS, THEREFORE, CONSTITUTE WHAT WE COULD POINT OUT AS A TRADITION ORIGINALLY SHARED BY LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

3. THE DIVIDED WORLD OF THE TIME HAD ITS OWN DEPENDENT AREAS, REPRESENTED MAINLY BY THE BRITISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA AND BY THE SPANISH AND PROTUGUESE COLONIES IN LATIN AMERICA. THIS COMMON BACKGROUND AND THIS SHARED POLITICAL BEGINNING AS SUBORDINATE COLONIES, ASIDE FROM THE NATURAL DIFFERENCES IN OUR COLONIAL HISTORIES, ARE THE FOUNDATION OF THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES.

4. IT SO HAPPENS, HOWEVER, THAT THE LATER EVOLUTION OF OUR SOCIETIES, THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE RAPID INCORPORATION OF THE UNITED STATES INTO THE DOMINANT MECHANISMS OF GLOBAL PRODUCTION, AND, IN OPPOSITION TO THIS, AND ALSO AS ITS CONSEQUENCE, THE DETERIORATION OF THE NEWLY-BORN LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIES, THEIR GROWING APART FROM THE MINIMUM GOALS OF DEVELOPMENT, WHICH TIMELY ATTAINED WOULD HAVE INSURED THEIR PROGRESS AND THEIR INCLUSION IN THE SYSTEM OF DEPENDENCE - ALL THIS ULTIMATELY RESULTED IN THE PARADOX THAT LATIN AMERICA DRIFTED TOWARDS UNDERDEVELOPMENT, WHILE THE UNITED STATES ATTAINED A HIGH LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT.

5. THE OLD ANTI-COLONIAL TRADITION, THE ASSERTION OF INDEPENDENCE IN ADOPTING OUR OWN DECISIONS, THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE AN OUTONOMOUS DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT - IN SHORT, THOSE GREAT OBJECTIVES UPON WHICH WE HAD BASED OUR COMMON STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, BECAME IN TIME ESPECIALLY

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APPARENT; AND IN RECENT YEARS MAJOR ISSUES OF CONFRONTATION APPEARED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA, WHICH HAD PRESERVED THROUGH BITTER EXPERIENCE THE FINER TRAITS OF THOSE ORIGINAL VALUES, MAKING THEM THE DEEP JUSTIFICATION OF ITS MILITANT POSITION WITHIN THE THIRD WORLD. THE SAME IS INTENDED TO ALTER THE COURSE OF THE HISTORY WHICH LED TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND TO ATTAIN COOPERATIVELY WITH OTHER AREAS OF THIS GLOBE

THE GOALS OF PROGRESS AND DIGNITY THAT OUR FOREFATHERS
ASPIRED TO FOR THEIR PEOPLE IN FUNDING THE NEW STATES.

6. I BELIEVE, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, THAT OUT OF THAT
INVOLVED HISTORICAL PATTERN ARISE THE CONTRADICTIONS
AND THE CHALLENGE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES AND LATIN AMERICA.

7. OUR COMMON VALUES HAVE BEEN DISTORTED AND BOTH
AMERICAS MUST NOW FIND A NEW WAY TO OVERCOME OUR THWARTED
EXPERIENCE. OUR DIALOGUE IS NOT A CAPRICIOUS CONFRONTA-
TION BETWEEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND A GREATER POWER, BUT
THE CONFLICT OF DIVERSE CRITERIA IN FOCUSING ON THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,
AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS IN EVALUATING GLOBAL REALITIES.

8. ONE SIDE FOCUSES ON THE DYNAMICS OF THOSE RELATIONS
THROUGH ELEMENTS PRESERVING THE OUTLOOK OF THE COLONIAL
POWERS OF THE PAST, WHICH FUNDAMENTALLY PROJECTS THE
GENERAL INTEREST OF ALL PEOPLES TO THE INTEREST OF THE
METROPOLITAN CENTERS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER.

9. THE OTHER SIDE SEEKS A COHERENT VIEW ARISING FROM THE
CONSIDERATION OF THEIR INTERESTS AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT
UNFAIR INTERNATIONAL ORDER; THIS LEADS IT TO REJECT THE
AUTOMATIC AND OPPRESSIVE DOMINANCE OF THE CENTERS OF
POWER, AND TO TRY TO ORGANIZE GROWING AND CONCURRENT
SPHERES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION WHICH WILL MAKE IT
POSSIBLE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ATTAIN THROUGH
EFFECTIVE MECHANISMS THE POWER OF NEGOTIATION WHICH
WILL ENABLE THEM TO GAIN ACCESS TO MAJOR GLOBAL DECISIONS.
ALL THIS IS INTENDED TO ESTABLISH A NEW INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC ORDER BASED ON THE AUTHENTIC DEMOCRATIZATION
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OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, CANCELLING FOREVER
TRADITIONAL AND STILL CURRENT PATTERNS OF BALANCE
OF POWER.

10. THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE ARMED FORCES,
IN OVER 7 YEARS OF WIELDING POWER, HAS BEEN ACTIVELY
WORKING TO INTENSIFY THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN A
PROCESS THAT IS GENUINELY PERUVIAN, WITH AUTONOMOUS IDEAS
PERTAINING TO THE UNDERLYING VALUES OF OUR NATIONAL
HERITAGE, AND COMPRISING, MOREOVER, THE IDEOLOGICAL
WEALTH OF HUMANIST, SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.
PERU SEEKS TO INTERPRET, THEREFORE, THROUGH ITS OWN
AND PERSONAL REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE, CERTAIN VALUES
INTENDED NOT ONLY TO FAVOR THE DEFINITE ESTABLISH-
MENT OF A SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF FULL PARICIPATION,

RECONCILING JUSTICE, WELFARE AND LIBERTY, BUT ALSO, THROUGH ITS NATIONALIST AND INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY AS A DEEPLY LATIN AMERICAN, THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY, TO IDENTIFY THE PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS IT SHARES WITH OTHER STATES, IN A WAY THAT WILL ENABLE US TO ADVANCE TOGETHER TOWARDS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CERTAIN COMMON OBJECTIVES.

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8988

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USIA FOR: ILA

SECSTATE FOR: ARA/LA/EP, FUNSETH

11. THIS LEGITIMATE AND RIGHTFUL FACT, HOWEVER, CLEAR IT IS TO US, SUBJECTS MANY COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND OF THE THIRD WORLD WITH SIMILAR CONCERNS TO THE ENDURING OF POLITICAL PRESSURES AND COERCIVE MEASURES OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE OR, AT BEST, A PATERNALISTIC ATTITUDE EXPRESSED IN TRADITIONAL PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATION. THESE ATTITUDES EXPRESS OBSOLETE HEGEMONIC IDEAS REGARDING RELATIONS AMONG STATES WHICH DO NOT REPRESENT THE NEW REALITY WE LIVE, AND WE HONESTLY THINK THAT NEITHER DO THEY SERVE THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE STATES WHERE THOSE IDEAS ORIGINATE.

12. THEREFORE, I DO NOT CONSIDER IT USELESS TO SET FORTH IN THIS BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THE PROSPECTS OPEN THIS YEAR TO THE RENOWNED IMAGINATION AND CREATIVENESS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS HE ADEQUATE FORUM FOR

RECONCILING DIVERSE POSITIONS BASED ON THE CONFLICTING OUTLOOKS OF SIGNIFICANT GROUPS OF COUNTRIES CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT THE GENERAL INTEREST, AND THIS IS OUR TRUE HOPE, LIES IN TURNING THAT FORUM INTO A REAL INSTRUMENT OF NEGOTIATION AND COOPERATION, AND NOT OF LOUD CONFRONTATION. LAST YEAR'S EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN REGRETTABLE IN THAT

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SENSE, BUT IT IS FAIR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS RECENTLY TAKEN A STEP WHICH MAY GIVE WAY TO POSITIVE INNOVATIONS. I REFER TO THE PROMISING FACT THAT YOU YOURSELF, MR. SECRETARY, WERE THE ONE TO PROPOSE FIRST AT THE VII EXTRAORDINARY ASSEMBLY, AND LATER AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE, A SET OF IDEAS CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY.

13. WE TRUST THAT THIS, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, AS OTHER RECENT STATEMENTS BY YOU REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THIRD WORLD, FORETELLS A POSSIBLE MODIFICATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONNECTION WITH WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN A NEGATIVE APPROACH, BOTH TO THE THIRD WORLD AND TO THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT, WHICH, AS PERU UNDERSTANDS IT, IS CLOSELY INSPIRED BY POSITIVE IDEAS OF NEGOTIATION. A REVISION OF THAT POLICY, WHICH WOULD REPRESENT A POSITIVE APPROACH OF THE UNITED STATES TO CERTAIN IDEAS OF THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, WOULD INDICATE TO US THAT IT HAS SET ASIDE CERTAIN ILL-INSPIRED -- IN OUR OPINION -- IDEAS, WHICH IN THE MOST CRITICAL MOMENTS OF THE COLD WAR TENDED TO RELATE THE POSITION OF COUNTRIES ONLY TO THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, DISREGARDING THE VALUE OF THE INDEPENDENT ATTITUDE MANY STATES SOUGHT TO ASSUME THEN IN THE FACE OF A PURELY CONFRONTATIONIST BIPOLAR POLICY.

14. ANOTHER PROMISING EVENT IS PRECISELY YOUR PRESENCE AMONG US. WE BELIEVE THAT IN FULFILLING YOUR PROMISE TO MAKE THIS TRIP, YOU ARE ACQUAINTING YOURSELF WITH LATIN AMERICAN REALITY WHICH IS EMERGING WITH INCREASING COHERENCE AND FIRMNESS IN THE SPHERE OF WORLD POLITICS. WE THINK, THEREFORE, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, THAT BOTH FROM THE OUTCOME OF THIS VISIT TO OUR COUNTRIES, AND FROM THE CANCELLING OF POLICIES WHICH SEEM TO OPPOSE UNNECESSARILY THE REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM, A POLITICAL DESIRE OF RENEWAL AND ACTION MAY ARISE, FROM WHICH THE BASIS OF WHAT WE COULD CALL A NEW INTER-AMERICAN COMMITMENT SHOULD BE DRAWN. THIS NEW COMMITMENT MUST REST ON A POSITIVE AND VREATIVE IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM,

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WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO SUPPORT OUR NECESSARY HARMONY AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVEREIGN AND EFFECTIVE FREEDOM OF ACTION OF OUR STATES, WITHIN A NEW PATTERN OF SECURITY WHICH INSURES PRIMARILY THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES. THIS SHOULD BE FREE FROM PRESSURES, AND BASED INSTEAD ON EFFECTIVE AND POSITIVE TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL COOPERATION, IN WHICH THE NECESSARY INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES IS FOUNDED ON THE PRIORITY ACCESS OF LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES TO PROGRESS, IN EQUALITY, AUTONOMY AND DIGNITY.

15. FINALLY, MY COUNTRY CONSIDERS THESE MUST BE THE GUIDELINES THAT PATTERN THE NEW RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST BE AWARE OF THEM AND HONESTLY SUPPORT THEM.

TO THIS END, A FORMAL MEETING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA MUST BE PROMOTED WITHIN A NEW FRUITFUL CONCEPTION WHICH TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION RECENT EXPERIENCES. WE MUST HONESTLY STATE AND STUDY OUR PROBLEMS, IN THE FIRM CONVICITON THAT THE COMMON INSPIRATION WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO OUR INDEPENDENT LIFE AS STATES COMPELS US TO MAKE OUR MUTUAL RELATIONS AN EXAMPLE OF UNDERSTANDING, COOPERATION, MUTUAL RESPECT AND EQUALITY.

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: BEYOND THE IMPORTANT SUCCESSES ACHIEVED BY YOU, AND THE RICH VARIETY OF EXPERIENCES YOU HAVE ACQUIRED, THERE ARE STILL OTHER CHALLENGES FACING YOU WHICH MAY REPRESENT THE BASIS OF EVEN MORE IMPORTANT AND LASTING SOLUTIONS THAN THOSE ARISING FROM THE COMPLEX ISSUES YOU HAVE FACED THUS FAR.

I SUMMON YOU TO THIS TASK TONIGHT, DR. KISSINGER, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN THE CERTAINTY THAT IN DOING SO I AM ADDRESSING A STATESMAN WHOSE QUALITIES AND OUTSTANDING INTER-NATIONAL EXPERIENCE MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED, REGARDLESS OF THE POSITION OR THE INTERESTS UPHELD BY EACH. I PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND TO YOU, DR. KISSINGER.

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